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Max S. Baucus

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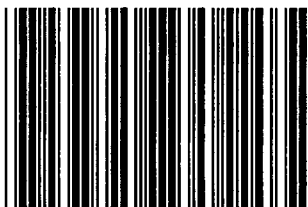
Montana Democratic Officers Convention in Great Falls

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BAUCUS

REMARKS BY
SENATOR MAX BAUCUS
MONTANA DEMOCRATIC OFFICERS CONVENTION
GREAT FALLS, MONTANA
NOVEMBER 10, 1979

OVER A CENTURY AGO, MONTANA WAS THE SITE OF A MAJOR BATTLE FOUGHT ON THE LITTLE BIG HORN. IT WAS A BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL.

SINCE THEN OUR STATE EXPERIENCED MANY MORE BATTLES -- SOME FOUGHT OVER FUR PELTS, OTHERS OVER RANGELAND, STILL OTHERS OVER VEINS OF COPPER AND SILVER.

THROUGHOUT MOST OF THESE BATTLES, A PATTERN EMERGED -- OUTSIDERS CAME INTO OUR STATE; EXTRACTED OUR PRECIOUS RESOURCES; EXPORTED OUR CAPITAL; AND LEFT US WHEN OUR NATURAL WEALTH WAS EXHAUSTED.

BUT IN RECENT YEARS WE REVERSED THAT UNFORTUNATE HERITAGE.

WE ADOPTED A STRONG NEW CONSTITUTION TO REPLACE THE ONE WRITTEN BY THE COPPER BARONS IN THE 1880s.

WE REFORMED OUR STATE TAX SYSTEM.

WE INSTITUTED THE UTILITY SITING ACT -- THE COAL SEVERANCE TAX -- AND STRONG RECLAMATION LAWS.

WE DIDN'T WANT TO BE ANOTHER WEST VIRGINIA -- WITH ITS ERODED MOUNTAINSIDES, ITS POLLUTED STREAMS AND ITS POVERTY.

WE DIDN'T WANT TO BE ANOTHER CLEVELAND -- WITH SKIES BLACKENED BY SMOKESTACKS AND WATER SO POLLUTED IT BURNS.

WE WANTED SENSIBLE, CONTROLLED DEVELOPMENT. DEVELOPMENT PROVIDING JOBS FOR OUR PEOPLE WHILE KEEPING OUR STATE SPECIAL.

IN SHORT, WE REFUSED TO TURN OVER CONTROL OF OUR DESTINY TO OUTSIDERS.

NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A NEW BATTLE -- AN ENERGY BATTLE WITH GENERALS DEPLOYED IN WASHINGTON -- ON WALL STREET -- AND IN THE BOARD ROOMS OF HUGE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

YES, STORM CLOUDS ARE ONCE AGAIN APPEARING ON MONTANA'S HORIZON AND I AM CONCERNED THAT ONCE THESE CLOUDS PASS, THAT ONCE THE DUST FROM THE BATTLE SETTLES, MONTANA IS NOT LEFT AS AN ENERGY PLANTATION, CONTROLLED BY OUTSIDE INTERESTS, FOR OUTSIDE INTERESTS.

THE PRINCIPAL THREAT, AS YOU ALL KNOW, IS THE NATIONAL DRIVE TOWARD ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY. WE AMERICANS ARE PRONE TO OPT FOR CRASH PROGRAMS TO SOLVE ALL OUR PROBLEMS. WE DEVELOPED THE ATOMIC BOMB USING THIS APPROACH. AND WE PUT MEN ON THE MOON IN RECORD TIME.

AFTER SPENDING SEVERAL YEARS WITH NO NATIONAL ENERGY PROGRAM, THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS ARE ATTEMPTING TO FASHION ONE OVERNIGHT. AND THEY ARE TENDING TOWARD A COMMITMENT WHICH WILL SHAPE BOTH THE MANHATTAN AND MOON-LANDING EFFORTS AND WILL

PERMANENTLY ALTER MONTANA'S SOCIETY AND ENVIRONMENT.

* THEY ARE MOVING DANGEROUSLY FAST;

* THEY ARE CREATING HUGE GOVERNMENT MECHANISMS WITH LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR EFFECTS:

* THEY ARE ESTABLISHING "FAST-TRACK" DEVICES THAT THREATEN TO DERAIL MONTANA'S ABILITY TO DETERMINE ITS FUTURE:

* THEY ARE IRREVERSIBLY COMMITTING FUTURE TAX DOLLARS THAT WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE IN FUTURE YEARS FOR OTHER ESSENTIAL USES.

* IN SHORT, THEY ARE NUTURING A NEW BREED OF ROBBER BARONS.

AND, THROUGHOUT IT ALL, THE INTERESTS OF MONTANA AND HER SISTER STATES ARE BEING SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF AN INDULGENT AMERICA.

THE ROLE OF OUR STATE

NOW YOU AND I KNOW THAT THIS NATION MUST FIND A WAY TO SOLVE ITS ENERGY CRISES. AND WE KNOW THAT MONTANA WILL -- AND SHOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE.

BUT THERE ARE LAWS THAT AFFECT THIS ROLE -- NATURAL LAWS THAT GOVERN DEVELOPMENT. THESE LAWS TELL US QUITE CLEARLY THAT NEW TECHNOLOGIES DEVELOP ONE STEP AT A TIME. THUS ANY ATTEMPTS TO TELESCOPE FUTURE TECHNOLOGIES INTO TODAY'S ENERGY PLAN ARE BOUND TO LEAD TO MISSED DEADLINES AND COST OVERRUNS.

SUCH WASTE WILL CERTAINLY INJURE AND LIKELY KILL SYNFUELS.

INDEED, I PREDICT THAT IF THE CONGRESS SUCCEEDS IN LAUNCHING A SYNTHETIC FUELS PROGRAM ANYWHERE NEAR THE SCOPE ORIGINALLY SOUGHT, FUTURE POLITICIANS WILL BE RUNNING FOR OFFICE ON A PLATFORM OF REVERSING TODAY'S ACTIONS.

IN THE MEANTIME, THOSE COMMUNITIES WHICH WILL HAVE THE DUBIOUS HONOR OF HOSTING THE PLANTS WILL BE DOUBLE LOSERS. AND, IF CERTAIN PEOPLE HAVE THEIR WAY, A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER WILL BE LOCATED CLOSE BY.

THERE IS A BETTER WAY. WE COULD INVEST WINDFALL PROFITS TAXES AND OTHER FEDERAL DOLLARS IN A MUCH WIDER SPECTRUM OF ENERGY INITIATIVES, RANGING FROM MASSIVE CONSERVATION EFFORTS TO PRODUCTION INCENTIVES IN CONVENTIONAL AND RENEWABLE SOURCES.

CONSERVATION IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT NOW, BUT ULTIMATELY NEW TECHNOLOGIES WILL BE OUR SALVATION. THE MORE TECHNOLOGICAL FRONTS WE ESTABLISH, THE BETTER THE CHANCES OF A MEANINGFUL BREAKTHROUGH. CONVERSELY, THE MORE WE PUT OUR ENERGY DOLLARS IN ONE BASKET -- THE MORE THAT FAST TRACK IS SINGLE TRACK -- THE MORE WE DECREASE OUR CHANCES OF A BREAKTHROUGH.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD NURTURE AND ENCOURAGE BASIC RESEARCH UP TO, PERHAPS, THE PILOT PROJECT STAGE. BUT, AS A GENERAL RULE, ONLY THE MARKETPLACE CAN DETERMINE WHETHER A NEW TECHNOLOGY IS GOING TO WORK.

THAT IS WHERE WE'RE HEADED WITH MHD -- AND THAT IS WHAT WE SHOULD DO WITH SYNFUELS.

EVEN THE LARGE, WELL-ENDOWED CORPORATIONS, SUCH AS THE CASH-RICH OIL COMPANIES, ARE RELUCTANT TO GET INVOLVED IN SYNFUELS ON AN ACCELERATED BASIS. THERE IS LITTLE "MARKET" ENTHUSIASM FOR THE KIND OF MASSIVE SCHEME SOLD BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND BOUGHT BY THE CONGRESS.

TO ME, IT'S A LITTLE LIKE TRYING TO WIN AT POOL BY SINKING EVERY BALL IN THE SAME POCKET, RATHER THAN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF ALL POCKETS.

UP UNTIL NOW, I HAVE PAINTED A BLEAK PICTURE -- NOT ONLY ABOUT HOW WASHINGTON'S ENERGY PACKAGE DEVELOPED, BUT ALSO ABOUT HOW MONTANA'S INTERESTS ARE REFLECTED IN THAT PACKAGE. THERE IS GREAT CAUSE FOR CONCERN, BUT THERE IS ALSO BASIS FOR HOPE. AND THAT HOPE LIES IN MONTANA'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY HERITAGE.

ONE CANNOT REPLACE OVERNIGHT THE TREMENDOUS SENIORITY AND PERSONAL STATURE POSSESSED BY A MANSFIELD OR A METCALF. BOTH DEVELOPED PERSONAL REPUTATIONS WHICH STOOD THEM IN GOOD STEAD IN WASHINGTON. BOTH OCCUPIED STRATEGIC POSITIONS ENABLING THEM TO GET MAXIMUM LEVERAGE IN THEIR DEFENSE OF MONTANA INTERESTS.

MIKE AND LEE ALSO BROUGHT SANITY TO FEDERAL POLICIES AFFECTING THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS COAL FIELDS. THEY, ALONG WITH MY COLLEAGUE AND OUR SENIOR SENATOR, JOHN MELCHER, CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT BY MONTANA DEMOCRATS TO WRITE STRONG STRIP MINING AND CONSERVATION LEGISLATION IN OUR STATE.

YES, YOUR DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS -- PAST AND PRESENT -- HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH -- BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE.

IN PREPARING FOR THESE COMING BATTLES, DEMOCRATS FROM ALL OVER MONTANA MUST JOIN TOGETHER IN INSISTING THAT ANY DEVELOPMENT IN OUR STATE BE BASED ON RATIONAL PLANNING -- WITH THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL CONCERNED CITIZENS.

WE MUST ACT TOGETHER. WE MUST FIGHT TO INSURE OUR VIEWS ARE MADE KNOWN -- AND OUR RIGHTS RESPECTED.

THERE IS NO BETTER PLACE TO BEGIN OUR FIGHT THAN RIGHT HERE ... TODAY AT OUR DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. LET US GO FORWARD WITH THE CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN WIN, BUT WITH THE HUMILITY TO KNOW HOW TOUGH THE BATTLE WILL BE.

PARTING COMMENTS

IN CLOSING, I WANT TO MAKE A FEW OBSERVATIONS ABOUT OUR PARTY LEADERSHIP.

IN 1979 I HAVE SEEN MORE OFF-YEAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY THAN IN ANY YEAR I CAN REMEMBER. A POSITIVE SIGN. IT'S ONE OF THE REASONS I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MONTANA'S FUTURE.

MUCH OF THIS POLITICAL ACTIVITY CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO OUR NEW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PHIL TAWNEY. PHIL, YOU ARE DOING A TREMENDOUS JOB. I COMMEND YOUR EFFORTS AND PLEDGE MY CONTINUED SUPPORT.

I ALSO WANT TO EXTEND A SPECIAL THANKS TO DONNA METCALF FOR HER DEDICATED SERVICE TO THE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AS CHAIRPERSON OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, SHE HAS DEDICATED MANY HOURS AND MILES TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

FINALLY, I WANT TO THANK YOU -- STATE DEMOCRATIC OFFICERS, ELECTED OFFICIALS, AND PARTY FAITHFUL. THANK YOU FOR CARING; THANK YOU FOR WORKING; THANK YOU FOR COMING HERE TODAY.

REMARKS OF
SENATOR MAX BAUCUS
MONTANA DEMOCRATIC OFFICERS CONVENTION
GREAT FALLS, MONTANA
NOVEMBER 10, 1979

I AM GENUINELY PLEASED AT THE VITALITY I SEE IN MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY CIRCLES. WITH THIS MUCH ACTIVITY IN A NON-ELECTION YEAR, WE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED ABOUT OUR PROSPECTS WHEN IT REALLY COUNTS.

AND BELIEVE ME, WE HAD BETTER DO WELL NEXT YEAR BECAUSE IT REALLY DOES COUNT. STORM CLOUDS ARE ONCE AGAIN APPEARING ON MONTANA'S HORIZON.

I WANT TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS WITH YOU TODAY ABOUT THE FORCES BEHIND THOSE STORM CLOUDS. AND I WANT TO SUGGEST SOME WAYS THE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAN BEST RALLY TO THE DEFENSE OF MONTANA CITIZENS.

THE PRIMARY THREAT, AS YOU ALL KNOW, IS THE NATIONAL DRIVE TOWARD ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY. WE AMERICANS ARE PRONE TO OPT FOR CRASH PROGRAMS TO SOLVE ALL OUR PROBLEMS. WE DEVELOPED THE ATOMIC BOMB USING THIS APPROACH. AND WE PUT MEN ON THE MOON IN RECORD TIME BY CONCENTRATING ALL OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES.

AFTER SPENDING SEVERAL YEARS WITH NO NATIONAL ENERGY PROGRAM, THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS ARE ATTEMPTING TO FASHION ONE OVERNIGHT. AND THEY ARE TENDING TOWARD A COMMITMENT WHICH WILL DWARF BOTH THE MANHATTAN AND MOON-LANDING EFFORTS AND CREATE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS WHICH WILL STAY WITH US FOR DECADES.

- * THEY ARE MOVING TOO FAST.

- * THEY ARE CREATING MECHANISMS WHOSE CONSEQUENCES FOR STATE AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT ARE NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

- * THEY ARE ESTABLISHING "FAST-TRACK" DEVICES WHICH ARE SO HIGH-POWERED THAT THEY CAN ONLY GUARANTEE DERAILMENT.

- * THEY ARE COMMITTING SUCH VAST AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL THAT MONEY MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE IN FUTURE YEARS FOR OTHER NEEDED INVESTMENTS.

THROUGHOUT IT ALL, THE INTERESTS OF MONTANA AND HER SISTER STATES ARE BEING SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF AN INDULGENT AMERICA.

I TAKE NO PARTICULAR PLEASURE IN STATING THAT I VOTED AGAINST BOTH THE ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD AND THE ENERGY SECURITY CORPORATION. I DO NOT OPPOSE PROPER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, NOR DO I DENY THAT MONTANA MUST PLAY A ROLE IN SOLVING THE NATIONAL ENERGY PROBLEM.

BUT THERE ARE NATURAL LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT. THEY FOLLOW LEARNING CURVES WHICH DICTATE THAT ONE LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGICAL ACCOMPLISHMENT MUST PRECEDE ANOTHER. ANY ATTEMPT TO TELESCOPE FUTURE TECHNOLOGIES INTO TODAY'S ENERGY PLAN IS BOUND TO LEAD TO MISSED DEADLINES, OVER-RUN BUDGETS, WASTE, AND EVENTUALLY, RECRIMINATION.

I WILL MAKE A PREDICTION. IF THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION SUCCEED IN LAUNCHING A SYNTHETIC FUELS PROGRAM ANYWHERE NEAR THE SCOPE ORIGINALLY SOUGHT, FUTURE POLITICIANS WILL BE RUNNING FOR OFFICE ON A PLATFORM OF REVERSING TODAY'S ACTIONS. WHEN WHITE ELEPHANTS ABOUND, SCAPEGOATS WILL BE FOUND AND MANY ELECTED OFFICIALS WILL BE TURNED OUT OF OFFICE.

IN THE MEANTIME, THOSE COMMUNITIES WHICH WILL HAVE THE DUBIOUS HONOR OF HOSTING THE PLANTS WILL BE DOUBLE LOSERS. IF CERTAIN PEOPLE HAVE THEIR WAY, A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER WILL BE LOCATED IN MONTANA.

THERE IS A BETTER WAY. IT INVOLVES THE INVESTMENT OF WINDFALL PROFITS TAXES AND OTHER FEDERAL DOLLARS IN A MUCH WIDER SPECTRUM OF ENERGY INITIATIVES, RANGING FROM A MASSIVE CONSERVATION EFFORT TO PRODUCTION INCENTIVES IN THE WHOLE GAMUT OF CONVENTIONAL AND RENEWABLE SOURCES.

CONSERVATION IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT NOW, BUT ULTIMATELY, NEW TECHNOLOGIES WILL BE OUR SALVATION. THE MORE TECHNOLOGICAL FRONTS WHICH WE ESTABLISH, THE BETTER THE CHANCES OF A MEANINGFUL BREAKTHROUGH. CONVERSELY, THE MORE WE PUT OUR ENERGY DOLLARS IN ONE BASKET, SUCH AS LIKE SYNFUELS, THE MORE WE DECREASE OUR CHANCES OF A BREAKTHROUGH.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD NURTURE AND ENCOURAGE BASIC RESEARCH UP TO, PERHAPS, THE PILOT PROJECT STAGE, BUT AS A GENERAL RULE, ONLY THE MARKET PLACE CAN DETERMINE THE RELATIVE STANDING OF A TECHNOLOGY IN OUR ENERGY FUTURE.

EVEN LARGE, WELL-ENDOWED CORPORATIONS, SUCH AS THE CASH-RICH OIL COMPANIES, ARE RELUCTANT TO GET INVOLVED IN SYNFUELS ON AN ACCELERATED BASIS. THERE IS LITTLE "MARKET" ENTHUSIASM FOR THE KIND OF MASSIVE SCHEME SOLD BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND BOUGHT BY THE CONGRESS.

UP UNTIL NOW, I HAVE PAINTED A BLEAK PICTURE -- NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO WASHINGTON'S ENERGY PACKAGE DEVELOPED, BUT ALSO WITH REGARD TO MONTANA'S INTERESTS REFLECTED IN THAT PACKAGE. THERE IS A GREAT CAUSE FOR CONCERN, BUT THERE IS ALSO CAUSE FOR HOPE.

FOR STARTERS, THERE IS THE WIDE ARRAY OF GROUPS WHICH RECOGNIZED THE INHERENT DANGERS IN A STRONG ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD AND WHO DO NOT BUY THE ARGUMENT THAT IT HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY AMENDED TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS. THEY INCLUDE ALL 10 WESTERN GOVERNORS, THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES, THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, AND THE U.S. LEAGUE OF CITIES.

THESE GROUPS AND OTHERS WILL CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED AS THE EMB LEGISLATION GOES TO CONFERENCE WITH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -- AND I AM SURE THEY WILL REMAIN ACTIVE IN FUTURE ATTEMPTS TO AMEND ANY BILL WHICH WE MAY PASS IN THIS SESSION.

I AM ALSO HEARTENED BY THE RESPONSE OF MANY MONTANA DEMOCRATS TO MY POSITION ON NATIONAL ENERGY LEGISLATION. I LIKE TO THINK THAT IN MY VOTES AND PRONOUNCEMENTS, I AM KEEPING FAITH WITH MONTANA DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND THE RECORD COMPILED BY MY IMMEDIATE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PREDECESSORS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE.

ONE CANNOT REPLACE OVERNIGHT THE TREMENDOUS SENIORITY AND PERSONAL STATURE POSSESSED BY MIKE MANSFIELD AND LEE METCALF. BOTH DEVELOPED PERSONAL REPUTATIONS WHICH STOOD THEM IN GOOD STEAD IN WASHINGTON, AND BOTH OCCUPIED STRATEGIC POSITIONS WHICH ENABLED THEM TO GET MAXIMUM LEVERAGE IN THEIR DEFENSE OF MONTANA INTERESTS.

MIKE AND LEE ALSO BROUGHT SANITY TO FEDERAL POLICIES AFFECTING THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS COAL FIELDS. THEY CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT BY MONTANA DEMOCRATS TO WRITE STRONG STRIP MINING AND CONSERVATION LEGISLATION IN THIS STATE.

IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR ME TO GIVE A DETAILED HISTORY OF MONTANA BECAUSE ALL OF US KNOW THAT WE LIVE IN AN EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY STATE. FOR DECADES, PEOPLE FROM BEYOND OUR BORDERS EXTRACTED OUR BEAVERS, CATTLE, SILVER, GOLD, AND OTHER IMPORTANT COMMODITIES WHILE GIVING LITTLE IN RETURN BUT MOMENTARY JOBS. AND FOR DECADES, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MONTANA HAS WORKED TO REVERSE THAT SCENARIO.

THANKS TO OUR EFFORTS, WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH TO EVEN OUT THE CYCLES OF "BOOM AND BUST" WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR ECONOMY. AND WE HAVE DONE MUCH TO BRING STATE GOVERNMENT OUT INTO THE OPEN AND ENTRUST IT TO THE PEOPLE.

I HAVE TALKED TO MANY PEOPLE IN MY TRAVELS WHO OPENLY ADMIRE THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THIS STATE AND THE OPENNESS WITH WHICH WE CONDUCT OUR BUSINESS. THE REFRESHING QUALITY OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN OUR PUBLIC LIFE, WHICH OWES ITSELF SO MUCH TO THE EFFORTS OF THE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY, IS ONCE AGAIN THREATENED BY THOSE WHO EYE THE EXTRACTIVE POTENTIAL OF OUR STATE.

DEMOCRATS FROM ONE END OF THIS STATE TO ANOTHER MUST JOIN TOGETHER IN INSISTING THAT ANY DEVELOPMENT OF MONTANA PROCEED FROM RATIONAL PLANNING, FULLY PARTICIPATED IN BY OUR CITIZENS. WE MUST ACT TOGETHER, AND WE MUST BUILD ALLIANCES WITH REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS FROM OUR STATE AND WITH THOSE IN SURROUNDING STATES TO INSURE OUR VIEWS ARE MADE KNOWN AND OUR RIGHTS RESPECTED.

I HAVE DISCUSSED SOME OF THE STORM CLOUDS I SEE ON MONTANA'S HORIZON, BUT I REMAIN OPTIMISTIC. MONTANANS CAN AND WILL CONTROL THEIR DESTINY. AS MONTANA DEMOCRATS, WE HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REMAIN TRUE TO OUR ROOTS AND OUR TRADITIONS. TO CARRY ON THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF DEDICATED SERVICE, WE MUST REMAIN ACTIVE AND INVOLVED.

DURING THIS PAST YEAR WE HAVE WITNESSED MORE OFF-YEAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY THAN IN ANY YEAR I CAN REMEMBER. THIS IS A POSITIVE SIGN. THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MONTANA'S FUTURE. MUCH OF THIS OFF-YEAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO OUR NEW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PHIL TAWNEY. PHIL, YOU ARE DOING A TREMENDOUS JOB. I COMMEND YOUR EFFORTS AND PLEDGE MY CONTINUED SUPPORT.

I WANT TO EXTEND A SPECIAL THANKS TO DONNA METCALF FOR HER DEDICATED SERVICE TO THE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AS CHAIRPERSON OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, SHE HAS DEDICATED MANY HOURS AND MILES TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

AS I SAID, I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MONTANA'S FUTURE. WITH YOUR CONTINUED EFFORTS AND WITH YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT, WE WILL INDEED BE THE MASTERS OF OUR DESTINY.

REMARKS BY
SENATOR MAX BAUCUS
MONTANA DEMOCRATIC OFFICERS CONVENTION
GREAT FALLS, MONTANA
NOVEMBER 10, 1979

THERE IS TALK THIS YEAR OF A "NATIONAL MALAISE" -- OF PEOPLE BEING DISCOURAGED AND DISGRUNTLED WITH THEIR NATION, WITH THEIR LIVES AND WITH THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

TURNOUTS IN LAST YEAR'S NATIONAL ELECTIONS CONFIRM THIS GROWING DISCONTENT. IN 1978, OUR NATION HAD ITS LOWEST VOTING TURN OUT SINCE WORLD WAR II. LESS THAN 40% OF ELIGIBLE AMERICANS VOTED. INDEED, OUT OF 150 MILLION QUALIFIED VOTERS, MORE THAN 100 MILLION DID NOT VOTE.

THE EXPERTS SAID PEOPLE DID NOT VOTE BECAUSE THEY FELT THEIR VOTES DIDN'T COUNT OR MAKE A DIFFERENCE -- THAT THEY FELT POLITICAL IMPOTENCY.

SOME EXPERTS NOW CALL THIS THE RHETT BUTLER SYNDROME. REMEMBER WHEN HE TURNED TO SCARLETT O'HARA AND SAID: "FRANKLY MY DEAR, I DON'T GIVE A DAMN."

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT VOTERS IN STATE AFTER STATE DIDN'T EITHER. ILLINOIS HAD A 19% TURN OUT - NEW JERSEY 16% - MICHIGAN 19% - IOWA 17%.

BUT MONTANA WAS DIFFERENT.

RHETT BUTLER WASN'T HERE LAST YEAR.

WE HAD THE SECOND HIGHEST VOTER TURN OUT IN THE NATION. IN BOTH THE PRIMARY AND THE GENERAL, OVER 50% OF OUR ELIGIBLE VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS.

THERE MUST BE A CORRELATION BETWEEN THE VOTER TURN OUT IN MONTANA AND THE FACT THAT MONTANANS FEEL THEIR VOTE DOES MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

I BELIEVE THAT CORRELATION EXISTS, FOR MONTANA IS ONE OF THE FEW STATES WHERE ITS CITIZENS FEEL THEY HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR FUTURE. WE LIVE IN ONE OF THE FEW STATES WHERE CITIZENS CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY.

MONTANANS CARE BECAUSE THERE IS SOMETHING TO CARE ABOUT. AND WE WANT TO KEEP IT THAT WAY.

YOU AND I BOTH REALIZE WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SHAPE THE FUTURE OF OUR STATE. NOW IS THE TIME WE ARE MAKING THE DECISIONS WHICH DETERMINE THE LONG RANGE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN.

AS YOUR SENATOR, I MAKE DECISIONS EVERY DAY THAT AFFECT MONTANA'S FUTURE. WHEN I VOTE, I THINK OF WHAT IT MEANS FOR MONTANA TOMORROW.

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU MY VIEWS ABOUT MONTANA, OUR ECONOMY, OUR FUTURE, AND OF SOME VOTES THAT I HAVE MADE THIS SESSION.

OVER A CENTURY AGO, MONTANA WAS THE SITE OF A MAJOR BATTLE, THE BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN. NOW 100 YEARS LATER THERE ARE NEW BATTLEFIELDS IN THE WEST.

THE NATION IS LOOKING TOWARD THE WEST AND ITS RESOURCES AS AN IMMEDIATE ANSWER FOR ENERGY AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. WE MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE SAFEGUARDS TO GUARANTEE THE CORRECT DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RESOURCES AND TO ENSURE THAT THE WEST'S INTERESTS ARE MAINTAINED.

IT IS NO LONGER A MATTER OF HOW FAST RESOURCES CAN BE SPENT. IT IS NOW A MATTER OF HOW WISELY THEY ARE SPENT AND MOST IMPORTANTLY HOW THEY CAN BE CONSERVED.

THE HISTORIAN BERNARD DE VOTO IN SPEAKING OF THE WEST AS THE "PLUNDERED PROVINCE" SAID, "THE WEST GIVES THE UNITED STATES SOMETHING THAT NO PEOPLE EVER HAD BEFORE: AN INTERNAL DOMESTIC EMPIRE."

MONTANA WAS A PART OF THAT "DOMESTIC EMPIRE" AND IT HAD ITS SHARE OF EXPLOITATION AND MANIPULATION BY OUTSIDE INTERESTS.

THERE WERE THE FUR TRAPPERS, THE BUFFALO HUNTERS, THE TEXAS RANCHERS, THE MINERS WHO MADE MINIMAL INVESTMENTS IN MONTANA, EXPLOITED THE LAND AND WHEN THE RESOURCES WERE GONE, THEY MOVED ON.

BUT MONTANANS REVERSED THAT HERITAGE.

WE ADOPTED A STRONG NEW CONSTITUTION TO REPLACE THE ONE WRITTEN BY THE COPPER BARONS IN THE 1880s.

WE REFORMED THE STATE TAX SYSTEM.

WE INSTITUTED THE UTILITY SITING ACT -- THE COAL SEVERANCE TAX, AND STRONG RECLAMATION LAWS.

WE DIDN'T WANT TO BE ANOTHER WEST VIRGINIA -- WITH ITS ERODED MOUNTAINSIDES, ITS POLLUTED STREAMS AND ITS POVERTY.

WE DIDN'T WANT TO BE ANOTHER CLEVELAND -- WITH SKIES BLACKENED BY SMOKESTACKS AND WATER SO POLLUTED IT BURNS.

WE WANTED SENSIBLE, CONTROLLED DEVELOPMENT. DEVELOPMENT WHICH PROVIDES JOBS FOR OUR PEOPLE WHILE OUR STATE REMAINS LIVEABLE.

IN SHORT, WE REJECTED THE "DOMESTIC EMPIRE". WE REFUSED TO TURN OVER CONTROL OF OUR DESTINY TO OUTSIDERS.

ENERGY

MONTANA HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NATION TO HELP IN ENERGY DEVELOPMENT. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BROADEN OUR ECONOMIC BASE AND PROVIDE JOBS.

BUT WE ALSO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN OUR INTEGRITY. THE INTEREST OF MONTANA AND HER SISTER STATES CANNOT BE SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF AN INDULGENT AMERICA.

THIS YEAR'S ENERGY AGENDA PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CHART A NEW COURSE -- TO REDUCE OUR IMPORTS OF OIL -- TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF INCENTIVES NECESSARY TO ENCOURAGE AMERICANS TO CONSERVE SIGNIFICANT AMOUNTS OF ENERGY -- TO INCREASE DOMESTIC OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION, AND TO ENSURE SYNTHETIC FUELS ARE PART OF OUR NATIONAL ENERGY ARSENAL. THE THRUST OF ALL LEGISLATION THIS YEAR IS TOWARD MAKING THE U.S. ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENT.

AND THIS IS GOOD.

BUT THE PROBLEM WITH SO MUCH OF THE PROPOSED ENERGY LEGISLATION IS THAT IT IS MOVING TOO FAST, TOO EXPENSIVELY, AND DOES NOT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT EFFECTS IT WILL HAVE ON STATES EARMARKED FOR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT.

THAT IS WHY IN OCTOBER I VOTED AGAINST THE ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD. I VOTED AGAINST IT BECAUSE I FELT THIS BOARD WAS ENDOWED WITH UNPRECEDENTED POWER TO PREEMPT STATE AND LOCAL LAWS WITH RESPECT TO SITING OF LARGE SYNTHETIC FUEL PLANTS.

I VOTED AGAINST IT BECAUSE I FELT THAT ITS POTENTIAL FOR INTRUSION INTO MONTANA'S TRADITIONAL POLICY MAKING AUTHORITY WAS SIMPLY TOO GREAT.

AND THAT IS WHY ON NOVEMBER 7, I JOINED TOGETHER WITH A GROUP OF WESTERN SENATORS TO OPPOSE THE INITIAL ENERGY COMMITTEE BILL WHICH WOULD HAVE ALLOCATED \$88 BILLION FOR SYNFUELS DEVELOPMENT.

WE FELT IT WAS TOO MUCH, TOO FAST, AND WITH TOO MANY UNKNOWN.

MOST ALARMINGLY THE LEGISLATION GAVE THE GREEN LIGHT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SYNFUELS PLANTS FROM PHASE I TO PHASE II. IT ALLOWED SPENDING OF BILLIONS BEFORE WE COULD EVEN BE CERTAIN THAT SUCH SYNFUEL PLANTS WERE TECHNOLOGICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, OR ENVIRONMENTALLY SOUND.

WE SAID, WHOA--WAIT, LET'S SEE IF PHASE I WORKS AT \$20 BILLION BEFORE WE DASH ON TO PHASE II AT \$68 BILLION.

AND WE WON... WE GOT AN AMENDMENT THAT SAID AFTER FIVE YEARS CONGRESS HAS THE POWER TO GIVE A "GO" OR "NO GO" ON SECOND PHASE DEVELOPMENT. THAT NONE OF THE ADDITIONAL \$68 BILLION MAY BE OBLIGATED UNLESS AUTHORIZED AND APPROPRIATED BY CONGRESS.

THIS IS A MAJOR VICTORY BECAUSE IT WILL GIVE US TIME TO SEE IF SYNFUEL TECHNOLOGY WILL WORK. IT WILL GIVE US TIME TO SEE HOW SYNTHETIC FUEL PLANTS WILL AFFECT OUR ENVIRONMENT.

IT WILL GIVE US TIME TO SEE WHAT EFFECT SYNTHETIC FUELS WILL HAVE ON OUR WATER.

AS OF TODAY, THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY HAS ADMITTED TO ME THAT THEY LACK INFORMATION ABOUT SOME "CRITICAL WATER IMPACT AREAS." THEY DON'T KNOW HOW DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL SIZE SYNTHETIC FUELS PLANTS WOULD AFFECT THE RIVERS OF MONTANA THAT NOW PROVIDE DRINKING WATER, WATER FOR AGRICULTURE AND WATER FOR STATES ON DOWNSTREAM.

IT WILL GIVE US TIME TO SEE THE EFFECT OF SYNFUELS ON OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES. THERE ARE ALOT OF QUESTIONS HERE TO BE ANSWERED. WHERE WILL THE FUNDS COME FROM FOR NEW SCHOOLS, ROADS, HOSPITALS, SEWERS, AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES NEEDED TO SERVE THE THOUSANDS OF NEW RESIDENTS.

IT WILL GIVE THE WEST TIME TO SEE IF SYNFUELS WORK -- AND IF THEY DON'T, IT WILL GIVE US TIME TO PUT CONGRESS ON NOTICE THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS -- PROBLEMS THAT MUST BE SOLVED BEFORE ANYONE, ANYWHERE MOVES ON.

DEMOCRATS FROM ONE END OF THIS STATE TO ANOTHER MUST JOIN TOGETHER IN INSISTING THAT ANY DEVELOPMENT OF MONTANA PROCEED FROM RATIONAL PLANNING, FULLY PARTICIPATED IN BY OUR CITIZENS. WE MUST ACT TOGETHER, AND WE MUST BUILD ALLIANCES WITH REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS FROM OUR STATE AND WITH THOSE IN SURROUNDING STATES TO ENSURE OUR VIEWS ARE MADE KNOWN AND OUR RIGHTS RESPECTED.

I HAVE DISCUSSED SOME OF THE STORM CLOUDS I SEE ON MONTANA'S HORIZON, BUT I REMAIN OPTIMISTIC. MONTANANS CAN AND WILL CONTROL THEIR DESTINY. AS MONTANA DEMOCRATS WE HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REMAIN TRUE TO OUR ROOTS AND OUR TRADITIONS. TO CARRY ON THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF DEDICATED SERVICE, WE MUST REMAIN ACTIVE AND INVOLVED.

DURING THIS PAST YEAR WE HAVE WITNESSED MORE OFF-YEAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY THAN IN ANY YEAR I CAN REMEMBER. THIS IS A POSITIVE SIGN.

THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MONTANA'S FUTURE. MUCH OF THIS OFF-YEAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO OUR NEW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PHIL TAWNEY. PHIL, YOU ARE DOING A TREMENDOUS JOB. I COMMEND YOUR EFFORTS AND PLEDGE MY CONTINUED SUPPORT.

I WANT TO EXTEND A SPECIAL THANKS TO DONNA METCALF FOR HER DEDICATED SERVICE TO THE MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, SHE HAS DEDICATED MANY HOURS AND MILES TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

AS I SAID, I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MONTANA'S FUTURE. WITH YOUR CONTINUED EFFORTS AND WITH YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT, WE WILL INDEED BE THE MASTERS OF OUR DESTINY.